20c DECEMBER 3, 1951

McCarthy in Wisconsin—page 15

New Republic

VISHINSKY vs. ACHESON

How far are the disarmament plans apart?

The Tax Thieves in New York

Who gets what, when and how

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Letters

Britain and the US

● In my view much the most important point in your recent editorial "Churchill's Task" is your mention of the part which he can play in making a fresh approach to the problem of world disarmament.

You rightly stress that any new plan for the control of atomic weapons must be merely part of a single plan for disarmament in all weapons. Fortunately this is now generally recognized; and it remains a mystery why anyone ever supposed that atomic weapons could be dealt with apart from general disarmament.

But there is much more to this vast problem. Disarmament—complete, universal and enforceable—is the key to peace. Disarmament is the paramount problem of the age. If it is solved all the other great social problems of the world are capable of being dealt with. If it remains unsolved the economic and social condition of even such highly developed nations as Britain and France will remain in jeopardy, while the condition of the peoples of the Middle and Far East is more likely to deteriorate than to improve. The problem is soluble but only by the adoption, under strong leadership, of new and radical concepts.

There are, I submit, two basic ideas to be accepted before world order can be achieved. One is that there can be no genuine peace (as distinguished from an uneasy armed truce) until all national armaments are not only reduced but abolished. The other is that it is impossible to abolish national armaments without the simultaneous adoption of strictly limited yet effective institutions for the enforcement of world law against international violence. This implies not only effective inspection but also an adequate world police force. It implies as the best method a radically revised UN Charter with universal and indissoluble membership.

The adoption of these principles can achieve the great goal. But nothing less can, any more than domestic order is possible if the population is heavily armed and there are no effective courts or police.

Here is where Mr. Churchill comes in. In view of the "traditional and institutionalized approaches" of the foreign offices, to which you refer, it is probably beyond their capacity to adopt fundamental conceptions so clearly necessary and yet representing so sharp a break with the past. They are not, however, beyond the capacity of so great a figure as Mr. Churchill, with what you call his "bold imagination and incomparable prestige."

Will Mr. Churchill perceive with clarity that nothing less than complete, universal and enforceable disarmament will solve the problem of world peace? Will he perceive that the World Instrument of which he has spoken must be nothing less than an instrument capable of enforcing world law within the field of the prevention of violence between nations? If he does we can assume that he will not shrink from acting with authority and vigor upon those convictions, brushing aside the protests of lesser men.

Herein lies a great hope for the future.

Dublin, N. H. GRENVILLE CLARK

● Your editorial "Churchill's Task" was the sanest, most constructive and hopeful commentary on the British election results that I have seen in print.

I trust that you sent Mr. Churchill a copy. If not, I hope you will.

CPL. LEE JAY PRICE

Fort Campbell, Kentucky

● Recent events make it clear that the editorial "Churchill's Task" (*NR*, Nov. 5) was, in many respects, a successful prophecy rather than an advocacy of bold, new steps to solve the economic crisis of Western Europe. If the outline of a fresh approach toward disarmament and the control of atomic energy proves equally inspired, the *New Republic* will have provided one of the most significant pages of history ever written in advance of events.

There are many who will not share the hopes of an early realization of a political federation of Europe, despite its logic and the support of Churchillian eloquence and leadership. Persia, Iraq and Egypt emphasize again that these are days of extreme nationalism in which fanaticism so seizes the people that they will face economic ruin and political chaos rather than submit to any measures which reduce national sovereignty. This spirit is used cleverly by our enemies to further their own ends.

In any fresh approach to the control of atomic energy and general disarmament, the Western powers must recognize and use this atmosphere of unreasoning nationalism which pervades the world. It is probably that this is a last desperate crisis in a primitive disease of mankind before it is swept away by the inevitable approach of some form of world government. In the meantime, the primary objective of the proposed Anglo-American Commission must be to make an honest attempt to reconcile the essential inspection and the technique of control of atomic energy with the realities of modern nationalism. It is probable that the broad principles of the technical proposals of the Lilienthal-Oppenheimer Plan cannot be bettered, but it is certain that the political and human problems which emerged when these principles were incorporated in the Baruch plan must be approached in a new way.

PROF. M. L. OLIPHANT

Canberra, Australia

Disaster on the Kaw

● I was deeply moved to read the excellent article by Thomas Hart Benton on the Kaw Valley disaster (*NR*, Nov. 19).

In view of the disgraceful failure of

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

Controlled Hate

CALCULATED CAMPAIGN
TO SPREAD DISCONTENT
SELLS NEW THERMOSTATS

Minneapolis-Honeywell, in Its Ads, Aims at Making You Dissatisfied with Your Home
– *Head and subhead in the* Wall Street Journal.

Have Fun

They [the banking authorities] argue that vacation practices must be liberalized and an annual vacation must be required for every employee—from the president down to the janitor—so that there can be a double check of the records while the employee is away. – *Sylvia F. Porter in the New York* Post.

Almost Honest

"The public doesn't understand," says Clair Bee [coach of Long Island University's basketball team], "that the players were not throwing games. They were throwing points. They were not selling out to the extent the public believed. . . . " – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Talent for Treason

New kinds of aptitude tests, which would measure not only the research potential of a budding scientist but also whether he might betray his country, will be sought through a $100,000 grant made by the John and Mary R. Markle Foundation to the Social Science Research Council. – *From the New York* Times.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

MOST NEWSPAPERMEN, we suppose, know their craft is kept. Newspapers editorially support the GOP about 70 percent, whereas we imagine working newspapermen support the Truman-FDR New Deal about 70 percent. There is nothing new about this American journalistic schizophrenia, and so far as we know it is casually and calmly accepted among reporters. The advertiser comes first.

John Crider, editor of the Boston *Herald*, got tired of the situation, however. He was no Truman man but gagged on Taft. The conservative publishers at this delicate point in the pre-election campaign want to keep their editorial pages open to support Taft later, if they have to, even though Taft means a swerve toward isolationism. When Crider could not print an honest review of Taft's extraordinary book on foreign policy he quit.

The Crider story found its way to front pages of other papers from coast to coast because newsmen, with tongue in cheek, saw it reflect their own problem. They gleefully accepted this way of giving their own advertisers and front offices a kick in the pants from another man's boot.

Our Exhibit A in all this is the good old *Saturday Evening Post*. Nobody reads *Post* editorials, of course, as such, but they do give the soothing sense of security and stability. There is no pretense at fairness or bipartisanship. The magazine's current issue refers to "Fair Deal poison penmen," and the other ideas are couched in this same happy style. This reassures advertisers, while readers can turn quickly inside.

It has always seemed to us that the frock-coated, God-fearing, nice old gentlemen who run the *Satevepost* and *Readers' Digest* carry this sort of thing too far. The diet gets a mite rich. The *Digest*, for example, ought to limit John T. Flynn, Henry J. Taylor, ex-Congressman Sam Pettengill and Stanley High to one an issue. Even with the digestion of a *Digest*, two or three of these gentlemen attacking "federal bureaucracy" all at once give a post-Thanksgiving surfeit.

Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R, Me.) looks small and shy. She got out a "declaration of conscience" on McCarthy, but that was dismissed as mere starry-eyed amateurism. Her devious colleagues Brewster (R, Me.) and Taft bumped her off a committee to make room for McCarthy and chuckled at her discomfiture. Yankee schoolmarm Smith laid low and said nothing. Now Brewster is up for re-election. To his surprise he finds the Smith prestige extraordinarily wide in Maine. Taft, too, is beginning to wonder. Is it possible that he misjudged the little woman? Taft pooh-poohed the investigation of McCarthyism in the Maryland election made by a subcommittee of which Mrs. Smith is a member. "Why, they did worse things in Ohio; why don't you investigate there?" scoffed Taft, referring to the Taft-Ferguson 1950 Senatorial race. Mrs. Smith didn't say anything. But now, embarrassingly enough, her subcommittee is investigating Taft. Taft can't believe it. His invitation was only rhetorical! Taft supporters spent $2 million or more in 1950, records indicate. In 1921, Sen. Truman Newberry left the Senate when expenditures of only an eighth of that amount were branded "excessive."

A lot of people are still arguing about whether Eisenhower is a Republican and whether he is a candidate. We may be wrong, but we have passed way beyond that stage. We think he is a Republican and a candidate. What worries us is what kind of Republican. Our information may not be conclusive, but we have always assumed that he was a splendid military commander and a naive student of domestic affairs. When the

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time comes we should expect him to take his place well to the left of Taft and well to the right of Governor Warren of California (now under attack from the American Medical Association for backing public-health plans).

The conservatives handling the Ike GOP campaign are middle-road conservatives, but conservatives.

Two women may well decide the course of the Democratic Presidential nomination. They are Bess Truman and Roberta Vinson (wife of the Chief Justice). Neither wants her husband to run for the Presidency. It looks increasingly as though Bess had won out with her man; he will be tempted primarily only if Bob Taft gets the GOP nomination. The Vinson story is another matter. Truman has talked it over with him. Vinson could hardly resist a convention "draft," if it came, and Truman could probably arrange it. But Vinson is, relatively, a poor man. His wife is in delicate health. She doesn't like politics; thinks Fred has done enough. Furthermore, suppose he ran and lost? The lifetime Supreme Court salary would be gone for good! A curious side-issue is that amiable Vice-president Barkley, who was 74 last Saturday, is making the motions of a candidate himself, despite his age. Barkley and Vinson come from the same border state, Kentucky, and a Presidential team from the same state is politically unthinkable. If Vinson got the nomination, it would be exit for Barkley.

Notes: The cost of living hit a new high just as Economic Stabilizer Johnston retired and Mike DiSalle made motions of leaving; Congress opened the doors for more inflation, and Truman cannot get political blood donors to take over these sacrificial jobs. . . . Eisenhower forces are alarmed at the rate Taft is gobbling up convention delegates. . . . The "dragging-courts-in-politics" issue against a possible Vinson candidacy would be met by a "dragging-army-in-politics" if Ike ran. . . . Declining Truman prestige aids Taft's chances as against Ike; GOP regulars will accept Ike only if they are convinced that Taft can't beat Truman.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

our Congress to pass an adequate bill to provide for the relief of these unfortunate people, and because I want to help, I am enclosing a check. . . .

Washington, D. C. HELEN KAPLAN

[The *New Republic* will be grateful for all contributions and will send them to Mr. Benton, who will transmit them in their entirety to appropriate flood-relief agencies. – THE EDITORS.]

The Pope and Birth Control

● Permit me a few comments on your article, "The Pope on Birth Control" (*NR*, Nov. 12). There are several misconceptions in the article but in the interest of brevity I will limit my comments to just one.

You state ". . . the Roman Catholic Church has survived over the centuries by shrewdly modifying its doctrines from time to time when the advance of civilization made such modification necessary or, at least, desirable. . . ."

I submit that an honest study of almost 2,000 years of Church history will show that the Catholic Church has never compromised its defense of the laws of nature and of the revealed truths of God in the name of what you call "the advance of civilization." Pertaining to the specific question discussed in your editorial, it is a historical fact that during the past 20 years a number of eminent Catholic theologians have repeatedly warned of the dangers of thwarting the essential purpose of marriage by the misuse of the so-called "Rhythm method." The Church, therefore, has never countenanced a method which intentionally thwarts the natural purpose of married life.

History shows that the Church has survived and will continue to survive precisely because it has consistently refused to subject the Law of God to the whims of human frailty. The Catholic Church has survived because of two fundamental truths, the divinity of Jesus and the divine origin of its commission "to go forth and teach all nations."

Hyattsville, Md. GILBERT L. ODDO

The Trenton Two

● Please accept my contribution. How I wish it could be more! Reading about the activities of the Joint Committee to Free the Trenton Two, and realizing what high-caliber citizens they are, and what courage they have shown, has given me added courage in my own small world, to go on fighting and hoping in an America where there is so much to deplore and to be ashamed of and to fear.

Woodstock, Ill. (MRS.) E. M. PHILLIPS

The *New Republic* acknowledges also additional contributions from the following persons for the Trenton Two:

Anonymous: McKeesport, Pa.; Brooklyn, New York City; Long Beach, Calif.; New York City; Norfolk, Va.; Lancaster, Pa.; Mrs. Robert Eichhorn, Ithaca, N. Y.; Norman Adolf, Jackson Heights, N. Y.; John S. Hill, Atlantic City, N. J.; Otelia Cromwell, Washington, D. C.; Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Fox, Elkins Park, Pa.; C. A. Wilson, La Jolla, Calif.; Dr. Leroy Hyde, Long Beach, Calif.; Charlotte Schlesinger, Yakima, Wash.

A Correction

● A typographical error changed the meaning of a sentence in the article, "Outside America," in our issue of Nov. 26. The statement about the French currency should have referred to ". . . a boost in the circulation of paper money to the astronomical figure of 1,828,000 million francs." – THE EDITORS.

Possible Terms for Peace

● Your editorial (*NR*, Nov. 19), "The Sham Battle for Peace," reads convincingly but has one weakness: it makes only general statements and quite fails to state specifically what propositions toward an abatement of the Cold War the US could present which would have any least chance of gaining consideration by the Kremlin, and would make round-table discussion with them worth while. Are there any such possible propositions? If so, will you not specify?

Silver Spring, Md. REV. LAIRD W. SNELL

Modern Poetry

● Rather than present my own feeble case against the Obscure Wing of Modern Poetry I would prefer to quote Peter Viereck, who sums it up beautifully in five words:

"A snore and an allusion."

Need any more be said?

New York City BURLING LOWREY

The Triumph of Cowardice

● The last two paragraphs of the article, "The Triumph of Cowardice" (*NR*, Oct. 29), were masterpieces and the last sentence solemnly superb!

They express so well what so many of us feel—and feel deeply. We're glad someone found a way to say it!

ELEANOR AND EMIL SEKERALE

Hayward, Calif.

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VOLUME 125, NUMBER 23, ISSUE 1931, WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 3, 1951 **New Republic**

DISARMAMENT: HOW TO GET OFF DEAD-CENTER

THERE HAVE now been laid before the General Assembly the Western and Soviet resolutions for arms limitation. Mr. Acheson's accompanying address by way of amplification and clarification contributed little of value; Mr. Vishinsky's, nothing. The ordinary citizen is therefore left to fend for himself in deciding what the plans mean, where they are in accord, where in opposition, and how grave are the differences.

The *New Republic* has expressed the view that the Three-Power plan is a propaganda gesture; the Soviet counter-plan is no better. Yet it is essential to take refuge from despair in a world of *as if*. Suppose the plans are sincerely motivated: is there hope of reaching agreement? Assume a start could be made in reconciling political differences: do the opposing proposals for reducing armaments admit of concession and compromise?

On the following pages the editors present a chart breaking down into their elements both plans. With their main points displayed in parallel, it is immediately evident that on several major issues the plans either coincide, or there is no more than a shadow of a difference: the history of politics records international agreements wrested from far less auspicious beginnings. What are the main differences? The chart reveals four such areas:

(1) *Timing*: As to conventional and atomic armaments the West adheres to the principle that disclosure of information shall be "progressive"—from less to more "sensitive" categories; the Soviets demand complete and simultaneous disclosure at a specified time. Both proposals are meretricious; both are unworkable; neither takes account of the strategic imperatives binding on the other side.

(2) *Reduction of Armaments*: The one-third cut proposed by Russia is not only pointless—a figure apparently plucked from the air; it is obviously unacceptable when considered in conjunction with the absolute ban on atomic weapons, still regarded by the West as its counterpoise to Russia's great land armies.

(3) *Atomic Energy Controls*: The Western powers, having learned nothing, merely reaffirm their adherence to the UN Majority Plan. Less explicitly the Soviet plan reiterates earlier counter-proposals. The most serious differences revolve about inspection and ownership of fission plants. Russia has refused to accept the sweeping inspection system of the Majority Plan and to recede from its demand for national ownership. It must not be overlooked, however, that in the course of UNAEC deliberations, important concessions on inspection have been made by the USSR.

(4) *The Veto*: Russia and the Western powers remain divided as to the veto on sanctions. There is agreement that the veto shall not apply to inspection or other operations of the international control authority.

What is the balance of these issues? Clearly there is common ground for maneuver, negotiation and compromise. It is possible, for example, to conceive a satisfactory inspection system without going quite as far as Mr. Acheson, who appears to envisage the need for "roving" teams, scouring the land from Odessa to Petropavlovsk (and also, presumably, from Key West to Olympia), combining the functions of foreign agents and bank examiners.

Beyond this the strict surveillance of raw materials—uranium for atomic energy, steel, copper and aluminum for conventional arms—still seems to us the key of a militarily effective and politically feasible inspection system. The one-third arms-cut proposal is not to be taken seriously. In contrast, the Soviet Government's insistence on national ownership of fission plants is said by Russian leaders to be related to domestic needs for power; if this is true, the issue is perhaps negotiable. The demand for an arms census as a prerequisite to discussing arms limitation is, as we have indicated in an earlier editorial, illogical. Acheson's assurances that "progressive disclosure" could not possibly disadvantage the Russians will scarcely persuade anyone who troubles to think about the problem. Yet there can be no disagreement with Acheson's statement that unless there is a "sufficient basis of international trust" there can be no hope of agreement in any sphere.

It is not necessary now to agree on arms limitation. It is necessary only to agree to consider arms limitation. The proposals have been submitted. Let the diplomats rest their labors and the working parties begin theirs. The experts may be expected to discipline their deliberations; they may also be expected to steer between the reefs, to find islands of accord. Mr. Eden has correctly pointed out the urgent need for small gains.

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MEASURE OF DIFFERENCE

A Comparison of the Western and Eastern Plans for Arms Limitation and Control of Atomic Energy

	US, Great Britain, France	USSR	Comment
Announced objective	The "regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments including atomic." [1]	"Effective and substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments, as well as practical measures for the prohibition of atomic weapons and establishment of international control over such prohibition." [2]	Sources: (1) Three Power Note, 11/8/51. (2) Vishinsky General Assembly Speech, 11/8/51.
Proposals to UN to effectuate the objective	1. Set up a new commission combining the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments. [3] 2. The new Commission to draft an arms limitation treaty. [4] 3. The Commission to start work 30 days from its establishment by the General Assembly. [5] 4. Its proposals for a treaty, when completed, to be submitted for ratification to a "conference of all states." [6]	1. Set up a Commission for Atomic Energy and Conventional Armaments. [7] 2. The General Assembly to declare immediately the "unconditional prohibition of Atomic Weapons" and to establish "strict international control" of atomic energy. [8] 3. The Commission to draft a convention for the enforcement of (2). [9] 4. The permanent members of the Security Council (US, GB, France, China, USSR) to reduce by one-third within the course of one year their arms and armed forces. [10] 5. The Commission to present its atomic-energy proposals by Feb. 1, 1952. [11]	Sources: (3) (4) (5) (6): US, British, French Resolution submitted to the General Assembly, 11/19/51. Sources: (7) (8) (9) (10) (11): Soviet proposals for disarmament presented to the General Assembly, 11/16/51. The differences between the proposals emerge in the more detailed analysis below.
Frame of reference for drafting of treaties, enforcement of their provisions, etc.			
A. Measure of reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments	A. ". . . to levels adequate for defense but not for aggression." [12]	A. Across the board cut by 1/3. [13]	Sources: (12) (14) (16) (20) (22) (26) (30): US, British, French Resolution submitted to the General Assembly, 11/19/51. Sources: (13) (15) (17) (19) (21) (23) (27) (29) (31): Soviet proposals for disarmament presented to the General Assembly. Sources: (18): Acheson speech to the General Assembly, 11/19/51. Sources: (24): UN Assembly Resolution, Dec. 14, 1946. Sources: (25): Reports of UN Commissions on Atomic Energy and Conventional Armaments. *Passim.* Sources: (28): US, British, French Resolution; also Acheson speech, 11/19/51. A. Three-Power proposal suggests the criteria of *population* for determining arms levels (President Truman's speech, 11/7/51; Secretary Acheson's speech to the UN General Assembly, 11/19/51). Soviet proposal is more specific.
B. Use of atomic weapons	B. Unconditional prohibition. [14]	B. Unconditional prohibition. [15]	B. This has long been the position of both sides, though each has wasted a good deal of verbiage *denying the other held it.*

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C. Manufacture of atomic weapons	C. To be prohibited at some unspecified stage in effectuation of an international control plan, provisionally the UN Majority Plan. [16]	C. To be prohibited at once by decree of the General Assembly. [17]	C. The Three-Power proposal refers to the Majority Plan which in turn declares that manufacture of fissionables is (1) to be prohibited entirely as a *national* activity at some unspecified stage in execution of the plan and (2) to be permitted, thereafter, only to internationally owned and operated plants. The latest Soviet proposal envisages cessation of production of atomic weapons *immediately* and makes no reference to future production of fissionable material.
D. What to do about existing stockpiles of bombs	D. Not specified, except by reference to the Majority Plan: *i.e.*, bombs to be disposed of "pursuant to treaty terms." [18]	D. Atom bombs "to be used exclusively for civilian purposes." [19]	D. The Three-Power proposal is vague on this point; the Soviet proposal is meaningless in referring to the use of bombs "for civilian purposes"; presumably what is meant is "fissionable material."
E. How to assure compliance with the atomic-control system	E. "Adequate system of safeguards . . . to provide for the detection of violations." International inspection for suspected secret plants, and international ownership and management of authorized production facilities. (Terms of reference—UN Majority Plan.) [20]	E. "International Control Organ" to be set up within framework of Security Council "to exercise control over the implementation of the decisions regarding the prohibition of atomic weapons." (Terms of reference—earlier Russian control proposals, *i.e.* national ownership of atomic production plants, periodic international inspection of known facilities, special inspection for suspected illegal production facilities.) [21]	E. For elaboration of the US position on inspection see Acheson's speeches to General Assembly, 11/7/51. For a better understanding of the Soviet position on inspection, ownership of production facilities and the like, one must return to their proposals four years ago in the Atomic Energy Commission discussions. On the question of ownership, differences are both clear and sharp; as to inspection somewhat less so. See *New Republic* series *Breaking The Atomic Deadlock*, 4/3/50; *Who Prevents Atomic Agreement*, 4/10/50; *Atomic Peace and Atomic Politics*, 4/17/50.
F. How to assure compliance with limitation of conventional armaments	F. "Adequate system of safeguard," etc., as in (E) above. [22]	F. International Control Organ to exercise this function by suitable means. [23]	F. See Comment in (E).
G. Use of veto	G. 1. No veto as to inspection and other operations of international atomic-control agency. 2. No veto in Security Council to impede sanctions for violations of atomic-energy control system. 3. For conventional arms, not specified, though US has not hitherto demanded suspension of veto in Security Council with respect to sanctions for violation of conventional arms agreements. [24]	G. 1. No veto as to inspection and other operations of international atomic-control agency. 2. Insistence on maintenance of veto as to *all* actions by Security Council. 3. For conventional arms, same as above. [25]	G. The difference on the veto, as many political observers have pointed out, is real in form, less real in practical terms The veto must not be permitted to block functioning of the control agency; on this both sides have agreed. The veto of sanctions raises questions related to the organic structure of UN and the Security Council. It is perhaps safe to say that adherence of the major powers to the Security Council depends on maintenance of the veto. See further the *New Republic* articles cited above.
H. Method of obtaining information on existing armaments, conventional and atomic	H. Arms census covering all armed forces and armaments "on a continuing basis." [26]	H. All countries to submit "complete official data" to the General Assembly. [27]	H. No difference as to principle.
I. Timing of (H)	I. Exact timing unspecified. Census to get underway *after an armistice in Korea*; thereafter, "progressive disclosure" of information on all armaments, including atomic, in "stages," from "less vital to more sensitive types of armaments." [28]	I. Complete data on all weapons, including atomic, to be made available to General Assembly not later than one month after prohibition of atomic weapons by the General Assembly. [29]	I. The Three-Power proposal borrows the "progressive disclosure" concept from the Majority Plan on atomic energy. The Soviet proposal has also been made before.
J. Verification of disclosures	J. By international inspection: with respect to atomic energy, by the control and operating agency proposed in the UN Majority Plan; with respect to conventional armaments, unspecified. Timing to correspond with disclosure, *i.e.*, disclosures to be followed by verification for each successive stage. [30]	J. International Control Organ in Security Council to take all steps needed for "checking of information presented by the states about the status of their armaments [including atomic weapons] and armed forces." Timing unspecified. [31]	J. In the Three-Power proposal, "stages" of verification bedevil the already confounded procedure of disclosure by stages. The Soviet proposal is vague; its implications, in default of explicit information, must be inferred from earlier Soviet proposals. See Acheson's speech to General Assembly, 11/19/51.

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THE WEEK

BLAST IN THE WOODS

When Tighe Woods, Rent Stabilization Director, let loose a blast over a nationwide television hookup at the delay in reviving critically needed rent controls in defense areas, it caused no surprise among his intimates. Every responsible official concerned with the outrageous rent situations which have arisen in defense areas has been fuming for months.

The critical-defense-area housing committee, Woods charged, "was bureaucracy at its worst." Persons living in defense areas, he said, were paying "horrible rent," and at least 250 areas should be certified as critical instead of the "puny" 48 which have been certified to date.

"Somebody has been dragging his heels, and I intend to find out who it is," Woods exclaimed.

The "heel-dragging" started last July 31, when Congress passed the Defense Production Act which declared that critical areas had to be jointly certified by the Department of Defense and the Office of Defense Mobilization. They, in turn, established the Critical Areas Committee, composed of six federal agencies, under the chairmanship of Ralph Kaul. Almost immediately the committee certified some 40 areas in which credit controls were to be relaxed, something the real estate interests badly wanted, but it took some three and one-half months for the first area to be certified for rent control.

Under the act, credit restrictions had to be relaxed before rent controls could be instituted. One housing official was of the opinion that the committee purposely complicated its operations, demanding minute inspection and study of each area, in order to forestall any action on rent controls. The committee constantly wrangled over legal matters. This was precisely what the real-estate interests wanted. Rudolfo Correa, general counsel of the ODM and formerly on the legal staff of the Associated Gas and Electric Corporation of New York, has been charged with being one of the instigators of this system.

The net result was that the chairman of the committee, Ralph Kaul, resigned his position and later told the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee, under Sen. Lyndon Johnson (D, Tex.), that the housing committee just could not get excited about the problem of critical areas.

The chairmanship of the Critical Areas Committee, after Kaul's resignation, fell to Ivan Carson of the Home and Housing Finance Administration. Carson, who had some experience in rent controls under the OPA, has the reputation of being a weak chairman. Reportedly, he is largely directed in his decisions by Eugene F. Bertrand, an assistant administrator of the Defense Production Administration, who comes from the Owens-Illinois Glass Company.

The reflex action to Woods's blast was the top-level reorganization of both the rent control and credit-relaxation program by the ODM head, Charles E. Wilson. Raymond Foley, administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, was named the co-ordinator of both programs and given the additional title of Assistant to the Director of Defense Mobilization for Housing and Community Facilities. The Rent Stabilizer, a spokesman from Woods's office told the *New Republic*, had sought such a co-ordinator for some months to fix responsibility for the program. Whether Foley, who has carried on an intimate and generous relationship with the hard-bitten real-estate interests for some years, will do anything more for the poorly sheltered low-income groups than he has in the HHFA is something many observers in the housing field seriously doubt, however. Now, it is feared, only one man will obtain credit relaxation and at the same time restrict rent controls, whereas formerly it took a formidable network of bureaucrats to accomplish this.

FUMBLING AT JUSTICE

The dubious character of some of his tax staff is not the only thing worrying Attorney General Howard McGrath these days. The Justice Department is also doing miserably in its helter-skelter campaign against domestic Communists. After the first spectacular show in New York, the Department has been proving less and less able to convince the courts that its enforcement of "internal security" requires the relinquishing of certain basic liberties. Federal District Judge Matthew F. McGuire's action in throwing out of court the government's case against W. E. B. Dubois and other officers of the Communist-front Peace Information Center is the most recent instance where Justice's "get tough" policy has floundered because of its own legal and logical inadequacies.

The government's attempt to silence the propagators of the Stockholm peace myth was based on the theory that they were agents of a foreign power, the Cominform-sponsored World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, who had failed to register as foreign agents. But aside from the widely known general character of Communist liaison, the government had few facts to back up its case. According to McGuire, it failed to supply such vital links as adequate proof that the peace advocates had not only submitted to, but had accepted the full control of, the foreign group. In dismissing the case, the judge pointedly suggested that the fight against Communism avoid back-door techniques and concentrate on the positive strengthening of our free institutions.

OKLAHOMA VOLUNTEERS

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA. (NR corresp.)

A potter from Northeast Oklahoma is emerging as his state's unofficial defender against subversive infiltration.

John Frank of Sapulpa, founder and owner of the well-known Frankoma Pottery Co., is chairman of an organization

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which calls itself the "Oklahoma Citizens Committee on Un-American Activities." This group is armed with reports of both the US and California Committees on Un-American Activities, the *Congressional Record* and a notable amount of something very akin to religious zeal.

Frank, a graduate of the Chicago Art Institute and the University of Oklahoma, explains that the committee is strictly non-partisan. "We have nothing to do with party politics," he has said. "The hypotheses from which our thinking emanates are the Christian principles by Christian men that gave us the success which America has enjoyed. We cannot continue to enjoy Christian America without recapturing and adhering to the Christian ideology." There are five Democrats and five Republicans on the executive committee. They are doctors, lawyers, merchants, businessmen and newspapermen. The committee meets once a week to consider the state of the nation and to decide what material should go into its weekly newsletter which sells for $1 a year.

One of the newsletters of which Frank is particularly proud carried a typical story which quoted Milton Mayer, a world government advocate as saying: "We must haul down the American Flag—haul it down, stamp on it and spit on it." When it was pointed out that Mayer had been deliberately quoted out of context, Frank said he had obtained the quote from "Joe Kamp's book" (*We Must Destroy the United States*).

"You see," Frank said carefully, "we're not fighting Jews or Negroes or Communists in Russia, but we don't want Communistic or Socialistic policies to dictate our local or federal government, nor do we want the UN flag to wave over the United States although we're not fighting the UN either.

The committee takes a great deal of pride in its weekly newsletter, which sells more than 5,000 copies. Frank said he feels it is the only publication in the state that is a digest of un-American activities. "We have a feeling, you know, that if we let the people know the truth, well, they'll take care of the rest."

MONOPOLY VS. PUBLIC POWER

A deal which would give the Anaconda Copper Company and the Montana Power Company, both controlled by the same money, a major part of the power output of the $109 million Hungry Horse Dam in Northwestern Montana is on the desk of National Production Administrator Manly Fleischmann. His decision hangs on granting a certificate of necessity for a primary aluminum plant to be constructed at Kalispell, Mont., near the dam.

The Department of Justice has asked him to postpone decision until monopoly aspects of the deal can be studied, but Fleischmann protests that he is reluctant to delay the defense program. Through the proposed deal Anaconda's domination of Montana would be strengthened, although for two generations "The Company," as it is known in the state, has made a mockery of democratic government and free industrial enterprise. But what infuriates Montanans most is that the copper twins may get the chief benefits from a dam, the construction of which they moved heaven and earth to prevent.

The average available capacity of this public-power project now under construction is expected to be around 200,000 kilowatts. The Montana Power Company has contracted for 40,000 kilowatts. Under the proposed deal Anaconda would get 110,000 kilowatts for aluminum production, and Victor Chemical Company, 31,000 kilowatts. That would leave less than 20,000 kilowatts for municipalities, co-operatives and small business enterprises, which are supposed to be preferred customers of public power.

The Anaconda deal first became known when Cornelius F. Kelley, Anaconda chairman, announced on November 5 that his company was taking over commitments of the Harvey Machine Company of California, which makes shells for the Navy. Harvey entered the postwar aluminum expansion program about a year ago when the Defense Minerals Administration, under Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, sought newcomers. However, when Harvey went to Blyth & Company, New York investment bankers, for loan capital, he ran into opposition from the Mellon and Kaiser aluminum interests. Blyth & Company felt it could not help Harvey, so he sought government financing. High government authorities suggested that it might be smart for Harvey to enter partnership with Anaconda. Anaconda offered Harvey a five-percent interest in the primary aluminum plant and 25 percent of its ingot production.

The five-percent limit on Harvey participation was for tax purposes. By owning 95 percent of the new company and consolidating accounts with the parent company, Anaconda could operate the aluminum plant at a loss, absorb part of the profits realized in copper and thus reduce over-all Anaconda taxes. It has been calculated that if Anaconda gets the plant the United States Treasury will lose in taxes three cents for every pound of aluminum produced.

Harvey, convinced that he had been eliminated from government consideration, accepted Anaconda as a partner of the company.

Experienced observers of political weather predict a storm if the Anaconda-Montana Power combination gets the lion's share of Hungry Horse power. Fleischmann, at the moment, sees no feasible alternative; but it may be that the REA co-operatives, which helped finance the Reynolds Metal Company to break the Aluminum Company of America's virtually complete monopoly in the defense days before World War II, could be persuaded to take on Harvey as a producing partner. They are in far better financial shape today than when they financed Reynolds. The only problem is whether there is the will in the present-day government to negotiate that kind of a deal.

BARROW LYONS

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CREEPING TOWARD DEMOCRACY

THE 1951 sessions of the state legislatures were disappointing to civil-rights advocates. Although 14 civil-rights laws of one sort or another were enacted in 11 different states, these statutes represented tiny, grudging advances. Since most legislatures meet biennially, this meager result must be compared with the totals in 1949, when 15 states adopted 26 laws, many of them far-reaching, comprehensive measures.

Only one Fair Employment Practices Commission law was enacted in 1951, by Colorado, increasing the total number of state FEPC laws to 11, but Colorado's measure should give scant comfort to proponents of equal job opportunity. The Colorado law, in effect, applies exclusively to government employees, only "educational" measures being provided for private employers who discriminate. Indeed, one section of the Colorado law thumbs its nose at the entire concept of fair-employment practice by its declaration ". . . that under the American system it is equally discriminatory of the right of the private employer to require [him] to employ one who . . . would not fit into his business. . . . "

Thus, the Colorado law belongs in the category of counterfeit measures, like those in force in Indiana and Wisconsin, which piously denounce employment discrimination but refuse to create effective machinery to prevent it. State FEPC laws enforced by administrative commissions remains at eight: New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Washington, Oregon and New Mexico.

In 17 other states unsuccessful efforts to enact FEPC laws were made this year. In six states (Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin) a strong FEPC bill passed the lower house of the state legislature but was killed in the upper. These partial victories reflect, however, only the cynicism of state political machines, content to allow the more representative chamber to pass a controversial measure, knowing that it can be defeated in the upper house.

In six other states (California, Illinois, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska and Utah) an FEPC bill was killed in committee, while in the remaining five states (Arizona, Delaware, Iowa, Missouri and West Virginia), the bill died in committee without even being put to a vote.

The responsibility for these legislative defeats rests most heavily on state Republican parties. FEPC bills received strong support from Democratic legislators, but Republicans, principally those from rural areas, knifed the bills. This year's only consolations were the strong campaigns led by well-organized groups in such states as Ohio and Pennsylvania.

No state legislature in 1951 enacted a comprehensive fair-educational-practices act comparable to the laws in effect in New York, Massachusetts and New Jersey. Such a bill passed the Democratic Senate in Connecticut but was killed by the Republican House. The existing New York law was broadened to include business and trade schools, while Oregon limited its to professional or trade schools.

Some piecemeal advances against "Jim Crow" schools were made in the border states. Arizona amended its school law so that segregation by elementary-school authorities was made permissive, not mandatory, which in effect moves the fight from the state capital to scores of local school boards. The Missouri Senate is still considering a bill which would require a referendum in each county to determine whether there should be separate schools for Negro children. If a majority votes against the form of segregation, the existing separate schools must be abolished. In New Mexico a bill to abolish segregation in the public schools was crushed, and in its place a mealy-mouthed resolution was adopted requesting the state schools not to segregate Spanish-speaking students and to improve existing Negro schools.

Against these steps forward must be placed the bitter intransigence of Georgia whose 1951 budget cuts off all public funds from any state-supported "white" school which admits Negroes, and South Carolina which empowered its school authorities to sell or lease school buildings to private organizations in the event of a court decision outlawing segregation. A similar rider passed the Florida legislature but was vetoed.

Maryland repealed a state law which had compelled segregation on the intrastate Chesapeake Bay ferries; segregation in any form is no longer mandatory in that state. South Carolina enacted an anti-lynching law and also a measure, directed at the Ku Klux Klan, forbidding the wearing of masks. Georgia and Florida have similar anti-KKK laws.

The number of Southern states still retaining poll-tax laws declined to five as a result of this year's legislative sessions. The Tennessee legislature circumvented a state court ruling that the poll tax was required by the state constitution and therefore could not be repealed by the legislature, by making the poll tax effective only for the year 1871. This measure, in effect, cancels the poll-tax requirement. In South Carolina, the legislature ratified a constitutional amendment which likewise discards the poll tax.

Finally, Wisconsin tightened its law forbidding racial discrimination in hotels, resorts and other places of public accommodation by forbidding discriminatory advertising as well and broadened the law to include religious discrimination. That state repealed a measure giving legal sanction to racially restrictive-housing covenants. The US Supreme Court had declared such covenants unenforceable.

The continuing failure of Congress to enact any part of President Truman's 10-point civil-rights program underlines the necessity of intensifying civil-rights fights in state capitals. But legislatures dominated by slow-moving rural representatives present especially difficult problems for city-minded civil-rights groups. Much more "upstate" and "downstate" organizing must be done before the legislative process can operate.

WILL MASLOW

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Outside America

EUROPE'S ARMS RE-EXAMINED

Paris was the setting during the fortnight before the NATO conference in Rome of the most impressive gathering of American VIPs the city had seen since President Wilson led his legion of peacemakers to the Hall of Mirrors in the Palais de Versailles. Any lingering doubts in the minds of Western Europeans that they might be abandoned to their own, still meager, military resources by a resurgence of American isolationism were pretty well dispelled.

The disarmament proposals, pro and counter-pro, and other current matters before the United Nations General Assembly accounted for the presence of Secretary Acheson and some scores—about 100 persons in all—of other American political figures. But in terms of popular interest, the proceedings at the Palais de Chaillot amounted to little more than a sideshow. The center of the stage was held firmly by the men—military and civilian—who had come to join General Eisenhower at Marly for his "re-examination" of the West's rearmament policies.

Europeans did not fail to appraise at its full—and great—value the significance of the presence here not only of the Foreign Ministers and Defense Ministers but also the Ministers of National Economy of the major Atlantic Pact nations. They had come less to make or hear the talk at the Trocadero than to talk to and hear such American civilians as Dean Acheson, Averell Harriman, Robert A. Lovett, Paul G. Hoffman, Frank Pace Jr., George W. Perkins, Manly Fleischmann, Roy Nash, and such military men as Generals Eisenhower, Bradley, Gruenther, McNarney, Norstad.

Although the ghosts of various kinds of neutralism still stalk among the so-called intellectual elite, among some sections of the Nationalist equivalent of the America-Firsters, and above all among the working-class victims of bad government and worse official economics, the great mass of the French and other Western Europeans showed intense interest in the "re-examination" discussions. For the "whether" of rearmament has definitely become the "when" and the "how." Even those Europeans who do not go along with the American formula of "position of strength" recognize that the current and unavoidable problem is the price of power, with its all-important corollary of adjustment of the relative capacities to pay.

For the Americans, that problem largely concerns, in the present phase, the allocations and priorities in the apportionment of material and men. Secretary Lovett said so on his arrival in Paris, before he had conferred with the 12-man Temporary Council Committee, headed by Harriman. For most of the Western European governments, it concerns adjustment of military needs and economic possibilities. Both the British and French governments face economic crises with serious political implications; and with the best will in the world, they cannot avoid struggling to undo some of the damage done by the United States Congress.

For the Western European peoples, the question is how much they will be helped to face their every-day problems by the use of the 10 percent of the Mutual Security appropriation—about $600 million—if it is granted as an emergency economic fund. Helping correct the dollar disbalances, stopping the flight of capital and similar improvements in the official financial situations are eminently worthy goals; but the weakest links in the Atlantic pattern are not so much between the Atlantic governments as between the government and peoples.

Former French Finance Minister Pierre Mendes-France said at the recent convention of the Radical-Socialist Party (which, despite the name, is well to the Right of the political center) that France could not afford both to build an army in Europe and to fight in Indo-China. Other Frenchmen in high places say that if the country is both to fight in Asia and build the promised divisions in Europe, it cannot finance any defense production from its own resources during the coming year. Naturally, therefore, ordinary people, worried about their jobs, wanted to know if Harriman's TCC could get American military-aid funds to buy more military and other goods manufactured in Western Europe.

The widespread interest in the "re-examination" of Atlantic military policy stems from the hope that rearmament can at least be prevented from meaning bad business for the standard of living of a country like France. The hope is strengthened by the personal role of Eisenhower who is felt to have a sympathetic understanding of the European situation. It is weakened by the contrast between the boom in American employment and the recent closing of the Salmson automobile factory which threw some 20,000 workers out of jobs, whereas it might have been converted to arms production—if US buying dollars were forthcoming.

The target date for the creation of the European army remains the period between the end of 1953 and the summer of 1954. By that time, according to the plan worked out here, there is to be an international force of about 1.3 million men from six countries, divided into 43 national "groups" of 30,000 men each—a 12,000-man combat group and 18,000 supporting men. France is to supply 14 groups; Italy and Western Germany, 12 each; Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg, five among them. "Re-examination" means not less security at lower cost, but quicker security through intense, common co-ordinated Atlantic action, at whatever cost the Atlantic economies can bear. It means something between 20 and 32 divisions, well equipped, some time in 1952.

The French who, despite deceptive surface appearances, do understand power, recognize the virtue of this formula. The disarmament proposals seemed a good move in the "dialogue" with the potential enemy—the Soviets; and they looked for an even better move in the "dialogue" with their friends—the Americans—to come from the "re-examination" of rearmament policy: in essence, a fair (which means relatively low) price for power in terms of bread and wine and work.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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THE TAX THIEVES OF 1951

IV. Business and Pleasure in New York

by William V. Shannon

IN THE SPRING of 1944, four important politicians had dinner at Toots Shor's restaurant in New York City. They were out to mix business and pleasure. Innocently, they laid the foundation for an absorbing chapter in the tax swindles of 1951.

The four were Robert Hannegan, then Chairman of the Democratic National Committee and lately Commissioner of Internal Revenue; Joseph D. Nunan Jr., his successor as Commissioner; Frank V. Kelly, chairman of the Democratic organization in Brooklyn; and James A. Roe, Kelly's counterpart in Queens, the New York City borough next door to Brooklyn. They had a federal job to fill, the one Nunan had given up to go to Washington and become Commissioner—federal Collector of Internal Revenue for the district covering Brooklyn, Queens and the adjacent counties on Long Island.

Nunan and Roe urged Hannegan to take James B. E. Olson who had been Nunan's assistant collector. Kelly argued against them, on the grounds that the office ought to rotate from county to county. Nunan was from Queens, and Olson had the status of a Queens man politically as long as Roe was backing him, although he lived in Brooklyn. Kelly insisted that it was time to help the party in Brooklyn by the appointment of Joseph P. Marcelle, Democratic leader of the 19th Assembly District in Kelly's domain. By the time the dessert arrived, Kelly had won Hannegan to his way of thinking, and Marcelle got the job.

The decision blighted the lives of both Marcelle and Olson with tragedy. In consolation for the disappointment over the loss of the Collectorship, Nunan, some time after the dinner at Shor's, made Olson District Supervisor of the Alcohol Tax Unit, Bureau of Internal Revenue, for the Third New York Collection District (stretching north of Manhattan's 34th Street to Spuyten Duyvil). This year both Olson and Marcelle resigned in disgrace when the Bureau of Internal Revenue publicly acknowledged that these men had been using their offices to make themselves rich. The dinner at Shor's led straight to greedy abuse of the government's tax system in New York on the order of the graft in Boston, St. Louis and San Francisco.

Their resignations climaxed a summer of retirements and firings "for the good of the revenue service" in the New York tax offices of the federal government. One of the ousted officials was honest and ethical. He was James W. Johnson, Collector of the Third New York District, Olson's superior. His fault was that he administered his office so incompetently that his subordinates assumed that they could get away with dishonesty. Eleven of Johnson's deputies have been suspended. Eight have been tried for shakedowns and embezzlement and found guilty. Seven were sentenced to the penitentiary.

The revelation of the moral decadence which surrounds tax collecting in New York probably has astonished the mass of taxpayers, who had no hint before 1951 of the corruption in the Brooklyn and Manhattan offices into which each year, each quarter, each month, they pour a good portion of their incomes. But it was no surprise to the Bureau of Internal Revenue or the Treasury Department. From the time Nunan dined at Toots Shor's, the Bureau had tolerated—even nurtured—the conditions that now spell scandal.

The decision made at the politicians' dinner was, at first, a blow to Nunan's friend Olson. It left him jobless, for the time being. He resigned his assistant's post in the Brooklyn Collector's office. He aired his gripe about Marcelle's appointment to a vintner friend, Joseph Applebaum, who listened sympathetically. He himself was on his uppers. The Internal Revenue Bureau had revoked his permit to sell wine under the corporate name of Giffen Industries. This cut off his source of income. He had set up the San Gabriel Wine Company, but he could not get a federal permit for it.

In May, 1944, a couple of months after the dinner, William H. Kennedy, Nunan's Deputy Commissioner in charge of the Alcohol Tax Unit, instructed James Wright, of the New York office of the ATU, to give San Gabriel a permit. The order violated Internal Revenue custom; Wright's investigators had recommended against the permit. In testifying last October to the King Subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee investigating the Internal Revenue Bureau, Wright recalled that Kennedy told him, "This is one of those things that can't be helped." Kennedy testified that he phoned Wright because Commissioner Nunan wanted the information about the permit passed on to New York. Olson had introduced Applebaum to Nunan.

William V. Shannon is Washington correspondent for the New York Post and co-author with Robert S. Allen of the Truman Merry Go-Round.

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Applebaum received his permit to re-enter the liquor business in October. Three months later he hired Olson as "public-relations" man. Olson later had difficulty in describing to the King Subcommittee the exact nature of the services he performed for Applebaum, who paid him $100,000 from early 1945 to the middle of 1946.

That soft job and big money did not quite satisfy Olson. He longed to get back into the Internal Revenue Bureau. Nunan understood this. The two had been friends since school days, before World War I, when Olson was a football star at Erasmus High, and Nunan was a scholar at Brooklyn Prep. They had kept in touch with one another after Nunan, in 1931, was elected to the State Senate, where he supported the program of Gov. Franklin Roosevelt. When Nunan became Collector of Internal Revenue in 1941, Olson was one of several hundred agents attached to the office. Nunan quickly pushed him up to be assistant collector.

In January, 1947, Olson became District Supervisor of the Alcohol Tax Unit in Collector Johnson's office. He was responsible for collecting millions of dollars a year in liquor taxes from importers, manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers, including Applebaum. He remained friendly with Applebaum, however, and in December, 1947, borrowed $17,000 from him. Among Olson's other friends in the liquor business was Louis I. Pokrass, who later became associated with Frank Costello, the gambler, in the Teleking television company.

Pokrass had established a privileged relationship with the Internal Revenue Bureau the year before Olson became District Supervisor. During World War II, Pokrass had tried in vain to obtain a federal permit as a wholesale liquor dealer. In 1946, he set up the Gotham Liquor Corporation and made the grade. Carroll Mealey, one of Nunan's deputies in Washington, ordered James Wright to issue the permit to Gotham without bothering to investigate Pokrass—unique instructions.

Olson safeguarded Pokrass' privileged position. Pokrass was about to lose his Gotham permit in 1948. The firm had been inactive, and the house rules of the Internal Revenue Bureau called for revocation of the permit since it was not being used. Alcohol Tax Supervisor Olson told Wright to hold the revocation in abeyance, however, and Wright was still doing so when Olson resigned three years later. At the time of his resignation, Olson propositioned Pokrass to make him Teleking distributor in South America.

Nunan and Olson remained friends and collaborators after the former left the Commissionership in June, 1947, and set up a law office in Brooklyn. They both became vice-presidents of the American Lithofold Corporation, the St. Louis printing firm which later obtained a loan from the RFC through the intercession of Democratic Chairman William M. Boyle Jr.

James Finnegan, the Collector of Internal Revenue in St. Louis (who now is ex-Collector and under indictment), interested taxman Olson in Lithofold. Finnegan took the New Yorker to dinner at Shor's with R. J. Blauner, president of Lithofold, and R. A. Blauner, his son, early in 1948. The Blauners wanted tips from Olson about prospective buyers of printed goods.

Olson took it up with Nunan, who agreed to work with Lithofold. Blauner designated them vice-presidents and gave them business cards to prove it. He sent his eastern district sales manager, Vonne Circele, to call on them. According to Circele, Olson gave Blauner a list of prospects, every one of whom bought Lithofold's line. According to Olson, he gave Blauner no list, and all the prospects who bought from Lithofold were suggested by Nunan.

Olson spent little time in his tax office. He was distracted by Lithofold and one other business, the J. B. E. Olson Company. He had organized it in 1946, when he was working for Applebaum, to sell truck bodies, and he kept it up after he re-entered the Internal Revenue Bureau. He recalled last summer that he had mentioned it to Nunan when he took the alcohol-tax job, and that Nunan had told him to go ahead with it. He managed to arrange sales of some bodies to liquor dealers whose taxes he received. Newspaper publicity about this enterprise provoked the tolerant Internal Revenue Bureau to ask for his resignation last August, and he obliged.

A few months after he left his job, Olson found out that since the politicians' dinner at Shor's he had done only half as well financially as Marcelle. Marcelle's government pay was better than Olson's. The Collector got $10,750 a year and the ATU supervisor, $9,400. Marcelle's total extracurricular income from 1944 to 1951 was $235,000, and Olson's was less than $150,000. The figures were disclosed when Marcelle testified to the King Subcommittee after his resignation on Oct. 23, 1951.

Marcelle, a lawyer, while he was Collector, kept up his law practice, which had given him only a bare living in the past but which now blossomed. Judges were always handing out sinecures to the Collector. One guardianship case, calling for but a few hours of work, was worth $17,500. From 1944 to 1951 the income from such court assignments totaled $60,000.

He ran the Eastern Electric Vending Machine Corporation, which did a big business with Abner (Longie) Zwillman, a leading gambler. He tried to sell an automatic camera in which he had a financial interest to the Roosevelt Raceway, the practical manager of which paid Frank Costello $50,000 to keep the bookies away.

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The vending machines and the camera kept Marcelle busy at places away from his office. "Even then it was work," he assured the King Subcommittee; after all, he had to check on the agents who were checking the admissions for tax purposes. In 1950, he went to Europe and deducted the costs from his taxable income. In other years he deducted $2,000 for using his car, $4,000 for entertainment and $8,000 for promotion.

Despite his "palsy" association with the Roosevelt Raceway and Longie Zwillman, Marcelle was not annoyed by his superiors in Washington, although John B. Dunlap, the present Commissioner of Internal Revenue, recalls that Secretary of the Treasury Snyder in 1949 ordered Dunlap's predecessor, Commissioner George Schoeneman, to "dig in and get rid of every rotten spot in the Bureau." Marcelle's downfall began when Jerome M. Ambro, Assistant State Attorney General, told the Kefauver Committee that the Collector was chummy with Joe Adonis, the gambler, now in prison.

The testimony interested the King Subcommittee, which began its investigation of the Bureau of Internal Revenue later in the year. The Subcommittee's interest aroused the Bureau from its lethargy about Brooklyn; the special agent in charge of the Intelligence Unit in New York computed that Marcelle had underpaid his tax for 1948 by $8,000. Dunlap asked Marcelle to resign.

When it came to Marcelle's colleague in Manhattan, Secretary Snyder did not pay much heed to his own advice to Schoeneman to clean up the Bureau. Some of Johnson's deputies were ignoring their work, permitting employers to fall behind in their social-security payments, harassing citizens with duns and warrants for taxes they had paid. The office was a mess. When Johnson, a Negro lawyer, went to work for the Internal Revenue Bureau in 1939 (he became Collector in 1943), the Third District was taking in $235 million a year in taxes; in 10 years the collections increased to $3 billion but the collection machinery expanded slowly.

On February 27, 1950, Schoeneman recommended to Snyder that President Truman dismiss Johnson. It was an awkward time. The mayoralty election in New York City was coming up. The Democrats and Fair Dealers were split into factions. If Johnson left, the Administration would have to decide whether or not to replace him with a Tammany man at a time when the choice might have some unforseeable political consequences. Nothing happened for nine months. On November 30, after the election, Truman politely asked Johnson to resign. He refused to do so.

Schoeneman prodded, but Snyder and Truman did not follow their request with a demand for Johnson's resignation nor did they fire him. In February, 1951, Sen. John J. Williams (R, Del.) introduced a resolution calling on the President to remove Johnson. The Administration finally asked the Collector to resign and made it stick in August.

Even the King Subcommittee is unwilling to look into all the angles of the New York story. It has been stern about Marcelle and Olson, but it has not summoned Nunan for public testimony to explain why he favored Applebaum and why the Bureau gave privileges to Pokrass when he was Commissioner. Mealey, who made the call to New York for Pokrass' benefit, has been allowed to resign from the Bureau, but Nunan has escaped questioning except in an executive meeting of the subcommittee. Nunan has a political friend on the subcommittee in Rep. Eugene J. Keogh, from Brooklyn.

Since public and Congressional indignation has at last prodded Washington into cleaning out the federal tax offices in New York, Commissioner Dunlap has been piously explaining away the decay in the Internal Revenue Bureau on social grounds—namely, that tax agents are grossly underpaid. It is a fact that their salaries are so low that they are constantly exposed to temptation. But the chief abusers of their office in New York were not the agents but the well paid Marcelle and Olson.

Immorality and incompetence thrived in the New York tax offices because the headquarters of the Internal Revenue Bureau in Washington failed to insist on high standards in the Collectors' offices. "Don't let this weaken the morale," Deputy Commissioner Kennedy pleaded with Alcohol-Tax Collector Wright when he passed along Nunan's instructions to issue the permit to Applebaum's San Gabriel Wine Company. But morale did weaken. Indifference at the top to the public interest demoralized the lowly. The agile Dunlap has tried to pin responsibility for the decay on the past by noting that the disgraced Collectors in New York and elsewhere were appointed by Franklin Roosevelt. It was the present Administration, however, that permitted Marcelle, Johnson and Olson to manage their offices in their own private interest instead of the public interest.

Had President Truman and Secretary Snyder insisted long ago on really wiping away the slime before public and Congressional indignation forced them to act, the shortcomings in the tax offices would have seemed no more sinister than embezzlement in a bank. But as a result of the Administration's letting the shortcomings fester out of sight, they have attained their present eminence as a symbol of political scandal.

[*This is the fourth in a series of articles on the current tax scandals. The fifth will report on corruption in Boston.*]

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McCARTHY FACES THE VOTERS

by Graham Hovey

THE DISCREDITING of McCarthyism, it has been recognized for some time, necessitates the heaving out of office of the burly junior Senator from Wisconsin. A lot of people hope that the people of Wisconsin will do the heaving in November, 1952. But who, specifically, will be selected to grab hold of Joe's collar? Political observers scanning the lineup of the state's eligible politicians have of late been talking more and more of one man—Gov. Walter J. Kohler, a Republican, a conservative, and until not too long ago himself a backer of what McCarthy had to say.

How did the Governor get into the heavyweight class?

Kohler started it all on his arrival at the Milwaukee airport September 25, after a flying three-week trip to Europe. He told newsmen: "I never have said I will not run against McCarthy for Senator."

It would be hard to overestimate the effect of this political smoke bomb. First, the statement confounded and dismayed the leaders of Kohler's own Republican Party, most of whom had already endorsed McCarthy for 1952 on the assumption that the Governor was certain to seek re-election. Second, it seriously disrupted the revived Wisconsin Democratic Party, which had hoped to get a candidate for Senator in the field early and wage the fight of its young life to defeat McCarthy next November. Third, it aroused emotions ranging from hope to enthusiasm among anti-McCarthy Republicans, former Progressives and political independents, who strongly believe McCarthy can be beaten only in the GOP primary, not by a Democrat in the general election.

Will Kohler run against McCarthy in next September's Republican primary? Politicians, Washington correspondents and magazine writers have been trooping into the state ever since September 25 to get the answer. They haven't got it for the apparent reason that the Governor doesn't know it yet himself. He has promised a decision in "three or four months." While he deliberates, the confusion mounts. Only two conclusions seem warranted at the moment: thus far the uncertainty probably has damaged McCarthy, but in the end it could work to his advantage and help send him back to the Senate.

Kohler's indication that he might oppose McCarthy undoubtedly hurt the Senator because it aroused doubts about the validity of his Communists-in-government campaign where none had existed previously, and where nothing any Democrat said could have raised them. Some strong Republican weekly-newspaper editors have now cast McCarthy aside and endorsed Kohler for Senator though they had never previously found any serious fault with McCarthy.

In the end, however, the confusion touched off by Kohler's statements might help McCarthy more than it has hurt him. The Democrats know they must get support from independents, ex-Progressives and anti-McCarthy Republicans if their candidate for Senator is to win. But much of this support will not commit itself to any Democrat so long as there is any possibility that Kohler will oppose McCarthy in the primary. This is a matter of practical politics as well as respect for the Governor. These groups are aware that only once since the start of the New Deal era has Wisconsin sent a Democrat to the Senate—and he lasted only one term. For the same reason, funds from independent, anti-McCarthy sources which might otherwise be available to the Democrats for important early campaigning against the Senator will be withheld so long as Kohler is undecided. The long-range effect of Kohler's statements, Democratic National Committeeman Carl W. Thompson has said, could be to "confuse and divide the anti-McCarthy forces in Wisconsin until such a late date that irreparable damage will be done their campaign."

If Kohler finally decides to run for Governor again, the possibility that McCarthy will have serious opposition in the Republican primary seems remote. Former Gov. Oscar Rennebohm has been mentioned, but he is not in the best of health and many politicians doubt that after two years out of office and the political spotlight he could defeat McCarthy. Ralph Immell, once a prominent figure in the LaFollette party, has been talked of, but he failed twice—in 1946 and 1948—to win the Republican nomination for Governor. Inevitably the names of Bob and Phil LaFollette come into any discussion of possible opponents for McCarthy. But Bob has not resided in Wisconsin since his defeat by McCarthy in the 1946 Republican primary and has given visitors in Washington the strong impression that he would not re-enter active politics under any circumstances. Phil LaFollette, who is practicing law in Madison, has been widely regarded as a political "has-been" since his poor showing as a pro-MacArthur candidate in the 1948 Wisconsin Presidential primary.

Walter J. Kohler is a pleasant, popular, 47-year-old first-term Governor who looks like anything but a political trouble-maker and who had shown no previous dis-

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position to rock the Wisconsin Republican Party boat. In fact, until September 25, Kohler had given no public indication of concern over the behavior of Joe McCarthy and no sign that he was considering any 1952 course save that of running for a second term as Governor. It should be pointed out that he still has never publicly and directly criticized McCarthy, although he has blasted McCarthy-type tactics and his dislike for the Senator seems well established.

Kohler set a pattern for subsequent statements on McCarthyism when he addressed a University of Wisconsin audience during his campaign for Governor. He said then that he had not "the slightest doubt that there are thousands of Communists in key places of the government. . . . The case of Alger Hiss proves that." This aroused the independent Milwaukee *Journal* to say, editorially, that Kohler had added "a new doctrine—that of 'guilt by multiplication'—to those developed by Senator McCarthy."

Last July, a group of Wisconsin Democrats called on Kohler to declare publicly his "firm and unequivocal repudiation of what Joseph McCarthy stands for." Instead, in his answer, issued July 19, Kohler declared: "It is certain that Senator McCarthy's activities please neither the Communists nor certain Democratic leaders." He blasted the Tydings Senate subcommittee; said McCarthy's charges of Communist influence in the State Department had been given "neither a full nor fair hearing," and asked for "a complete and impartial inquiry" into the charges "under circumstances which will command public confidence." Then he called on the Democrats to "denounce the condonation of Alger Hiss by Dean Acheson," and to "excoriate the Missouri ballot frauds, the mink coats, deep freeze and RFC scandals, the Kansas City killings of Democratic leaders in Democratic headquarters, and the general incompetence of the Democratic Party in the nation." And he invited the Democrats to "join with us in an effort to throw Trumanism and all it stands for out of our national life next year. . . . " The Democrats replied that Republicans and Democrats would "regret the Governor's decision to associate himself with Senator McCarthy."

Even after he had publicly indicated interest in running for the Senate, Kohler continued to be cagey in answering questions about McCarthy. Appearing on ABC's Town Meeting of the Air October 24, Kohler was asked if he believed McCarthy's attacks had been justified and properly presented. Kohler first tried to avoid answering, but finally said he was "not in a position to know if the charges are justified." He believed "only the FBI" knew the answer. If McCarthy's charges were correct, then they were properly presented, he said.

On the other hand, Kohler publicly condemned the tactics of McCarthy supporters at the Republican state convention last July. A resolution had been offered which called McCarthy "one of our most courageous Americans" and referred to his "outstanding service to the United States of America for facing the Communist issue." When a young, Republican state assemblyman and a Methodist minister tried to speak against the resolution, they were drowned out by shouts of "sit down, you Communist," and "go back to Russia where you belong!" Then the convention shouted overwhelming approval of the pro-McCarthy resolution.

Governor Kohler had left the convention prior to the incident, but when he was asked about it later he called the tactics of the delegates "disgraceful" and said: "Had I been present, I would have taken the floor to insist upon the rights of properly accredited delegates to present their views fully and without interruption." This statement miffed McCarthy's backers, who charged he had used "a poor choice of words."

At the Governors' Conference in Gatlinsburg, Tenn., a few days after his September 25 statement about running for Senator, Kohler told reporters he personally would "never consider making a charge against anyone unless I was ready to prove it," and added: "I can't condone irresponsible attacks on anybody, whether it is in connection with Communism or anything else." But he refused to connect his remarks directly with McCarthy and said: "So far as I know, everything he has said may be false, or it may be true."

Since his return from Europe, Kohler has warmly praised Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower on several occasions. He would no doubt actively support Eisenhower if the General's Presidential candidacy materialized. Kohler has continued to praise Eisenhower in the face of the endorsement of Sen. Robert A. Taft by 13 of the most prominent Wisconsin Republican leaders.

In fact, some political observers believe the question of whether Kohler runs for Senator is related to the question of whether Eisenhower runs for President. They believe it may have been something Eisenhower said to him during what the Governor described as a "frank" 45-minute talk in France that stimulated Kohler's interest in the Senatorial race. Kohler has voiced all-out support of American foreign policy in Europe, including the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. He has said he believes Eisenhower would run for President if he felt such a course necessary to insure continuation of that European policy. In such an event Kohler might not only take on McCarthy in defiance of the state Republican organization, but stand as

(Continued on page 23)

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Diplomacy with an Ax*

THE FIRST speech of Anthony Eden, Great Britain's restored Foreign Secretary, before the United Nations was the most encouraging note that has been sounded in foreign affairs since Mr. Eden yielded up the foreign office about six years ago. With all due respect to Messrs. Bevin and Morrison, who succeeded Mr. Eden, it can be seen more clearly now than during the interval how greatly a continuance of his service might have benefited the civilized world. As said by Anne O'Hare McCormick, the New York *Times*' well-qualified expert on foreign affairs, in her column of November 13, "The United Nations has been hoping for a new voice, and the delegates thought they heard it yesterday in the speech of Anthony Eden."

The content of Mr. Eden's speech, particularly his temperate and restrained delivery, has made a profound impression upon the minds of thoughtful Americans who, long ago, became tired, and even disgusted, with the thundering charges against Russia delivered in menacing tones accentuated by belligerent gestures. As Mrs. McCormick well says, "His [Eden's] statement in Paris was plainly the studied attempt of an expert in international organization to improve the atmosphere of the United Nations and persuade it to make a fresh start by concentrating 'on definite and limited problems and work their practical solution'."

We desperately needed a new attitude toward Russia and its covey of satellite states if there were to be even a faint hope of world peace. Fear compounds fear. Thanks to a McCarthyized moral climate in America of which every sane citizen ought to be bitterly ashamed, and which might not have degenerated into its present low estate if Secretary Acheson had had the courage and the will to declare war on it to the death when its symptoms first were recognized, too many of our leaders have seemed to think that the way to talk peace with Russia was to be crude and insulting.

As to our own State Department, one could not be sure of its announced position, since probably it would reverse its position the next day. Its "double-talk" has been both annoying and notorious. It has not taken the people into its confidence when popular support was a *sine qua non* to the carrying out of a policy. It has blustered and indulged in insults when silence, or at least self-control, might have served the public interest. On the contrary, it has maintained a deep silence when it should have spoken out. Instead of quietly and patiently exploring the possibilities of some sort of an understanding with Russia, without which there can be no hope of world peace, we have shouted stentoriously that Russia is a "blankety blank of a blank," whose word is given only to be broken.

Thanks to the hog-calling invectives and insults hurled at each other by Russian and American "statesmen," diplomacy, in its time-honored meaning, no longer has a place in the English language. Who knows but that the lexicographers of the future, thanks to the collaboration of Acheson and Vishinsky, will not decide upon the word "achinsky" as a more modern and meaningful expression than "diplomacy"? This new word would be defined as "discordance in managing negotiations between nations; hence, shouting down opposition in any negotiations; lack of artfulness in diplomacy."

American diplomacy may be recognized by its many shifts and turns and by the blunders that it has made, and that of Russia, whether personified by Gromyko, Malik or Vishinsky, by its stubborn misdirection and deception. There is much to be said for breaking off "negotiations" with Russia altogether. But "negotiations" with a meat ax or a needle have become both unedifying and unproductive.

We might have taken the initiative in a genuine crusade for world peace, but the State Department said "No!" So Russia took it. Of course, the American people will not be fooled by the raucous cooing of the Russian dove of peace, but in the absence of any persuasive move toward peace by the United States the peace-loving millions of the earth's inhabitants are likely to believe that "Russia is at least trying."

Anthony Eden may help us to repair the damage that we have done. But it will be no easy task. Acheson may protest to the Soviet Union that there are no " 'tricks' in the Western disarmament proposal," but his too-late assurance is not likely to carry conviction to those whom, by words and deeds, we have convinced that we are determinedly preparing for an atomic world war that the "peaceful" Soviet Union would avoid if it could. I suggest that our best, and perhaps our only, hope of bringing about world peace is to cut off our flow of words and support Eden in his proposal that "East and West try to settle some of their little differences before tackling the big ones." At the end of that path, given tactful and understanding leadership, plus our own co-operation, peace may be found. HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE VICTORIAN CONSPIRACY OF CANT

by Kenneth Rexroth

THIS BOOK is objective and carefully documented. It is full of information. It is entertaining. It must be stimulating, because it provoked me to reread a considerable amount of quite bad minor Victorian verse. What *The Victorian Temper* attempts to do is to present the Victorians in their own words, and in these words to trace the evolution of what Buckley calls "the moral aesthetic." Allowing the Victorians to speak for themselves imperceptibly turns into accepting them at their face value. This leads to madness, to such madness as allowing Tennyson to speak as a "thinker." Tennyson's poetry is very beautiful, some of it, but beautiful for a diffuse, but not diluted, mindless, vertiginous eroticism, of the kind invented by Keats. *Maud* is a farrago of vulgar chauvinism, but it has such lovely songs.

THE VICTORIAN TEMPER, by Jerome Hamilton Buckley (Harvard University Press; $4.50).

What we want to know first about the Victorians is how they got that way. It is almost inconceivable that they were the contemporaries of Baudelaire and Rimbaud. We do not need books to tell us what they thought of themselves; we can always visit our relatives. This is why it is so important to understand the Victorian era. Much, perhaps most, of England and America is still living in it. It cannot be understood by arranging quotations from literary documents in chronological order, with commentary confined to the documents themselves. This is the old juridical hallucination. The history of the last two decades is not to be understood by reading the speeches of Roosevelt and Churchill, the works of Whitehead, the constitutions of the CIO and the USSR.

Buckley presents a large assortment of quotations, from the sentimental obscurantism of Newman to the muscular Christianity of Kingsley. It is true that he shies away from the extreme radicals, and it is surely disingenuous to present John Stuart Mill primarily as an example of the process of conversion. But no matter. Left, Right and Center, all the spokesmen of the era seem implicated in a vast conspiracy of cant. Their humanitarian and plausible words covered a horrible reality, a poverty, squalor, ignorance, which changed little throughout the period. Marx and Engels documented it at the beginning. Doré portrayed it in his London engravings, far more frightening than his Inferno, at the end. True, they were critical, the Victorians, very, but critical from the safe refuges of their clubs and rectories. The power of the sex lie never wavered. It produced the obscene nonsense of the trial of Queen Caroline just before the beginning of the reign; at the end it murdered Parnell with a poleax. History knows no equal of the English Custer, "Chinese" Gordon, a sanctimonious freebooter whose portrait graces the windows of English churches and the walls of cottages to this day, and who seemed a peerless hero even to that civilized Edwardian, Andrew Lang.

I have never read a book that set out to analyze, really exhaustively, the objective causes of this cultural dark night of the soul. Other countries in the nineteenth century had a brutalized working class, subhuman paupers, hordes of newly rich parvenus—Evangelicals, Christian Socialists, Catholic Reactionaries, Ethical Positivists, Manchester Economists, not a tendency but was duplicated on the Continent or in America. Europe, not England alone, groaned under the long reaction which followed the suppression of Napoleon the First. Napoleon the Little emerges in history on Kennington Common sabering the demonstrators for the Great Petition. The suppression of Chartism and the *18th Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* were historical twins. The France of Louis Napoleon produced some of the greatest painting the world has ever seen, and a body of literature, not only great, but fundamentally critical of the society which produced it and artistically both impeccably wrought and technically revolutionary. Darkest Russia produced a whole school of writers whose influence is still potent over a hundred years. Provincial America produced Whitman, and, at the end of the century, Henry James. The Victorians, even when they tried to swim against the stream—and most of them, as Buckley points out, did try in one way or another—wrote atrociously and painted worse. The tastelessness and fustian of Rossetti, Swinburne, Oscar Wilde, make us shudder today. Why? I do not know for sure, and Buckley does not help.

The cultural historian, to be valuable, must commit himself. It is not enough to be objective, to treat literature and the arts as though they were produced by beetles or chemical compounds. Certainly one of the things wrong with the major Victorians is that they were all more or less implicated in the guilt of the society which produced them, whereas Delacroix, Degas, Seurat, Baudelaire, Flaubert, even Hugo and Gautier, were definitely exiles from a future time. For this reason the Victorians who interest us most today are minor artists whom personal eccentricity or circumstances dislocated from their fellows, who were cut off, by cranky ideas, geographical isolation or some other accident, from the pervasive spirit of the time. The list is long and, in its way, imposing: Clare, Beddoes, Landor, Barnes, Lear, Dodgson, Christina Rossetti, Clough, Doughty, Butler, Hopkins are only a few who occur to me offhand. Perhaps a major figure like Browning means as much to us as he does because he went to Italy and tried to keep himself uncontaminated. It is this side of Vic-

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torianism, the cultural underground, we want to know most about. Carlyle, Ruskin, even Morley or Bagehot, let alone Tennyson as a social philosopher, can all be found today, repeated with singularly little adulteration in the newspapers, especially on Easter, Labor Day and the anniversary of Hiroshima.

Kenneth Rexroth is a poet, playwright, painter and editor. His translation of Benjamin Constant's Adolphe *will be published this winter.*

ENFORCING TRUTH

GOD AND MAN AT YALE, by William F. Buckley Jr. (Regnery; $3.50).

THE AUTHOR, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1950, made a name for himself on the campus as an outspoken foe of the agnosticism and collectivism which he believes now prevail at that university. He has written this book to continue his fight in a larger arena.

Although he makes it clear that he is himself a devout Christian and an impassioned individualist, Buckley explains that he objects to current teachings at Yale, not because they are heretical or subversive, but because they do not conform with the views of the alumni and the parents of undergraduates. He boasts of entertaining the greatest contempt for what he deems the myth of academic freedom and declares that a college should teach what those who pay the bills want taught.

In actual fact, a good part of Buckley's book is devoted to excoriating the views (and the professors of those views) that he dislikes, but since he is neither a theologian nor an economist, his position is of no great general interest. A notion of the level at which he discusses economics can be gained from his suggestion that, when the government imposes an income tax on such a man as Joe DiMaggio, it flouts the will of the people, who would not have paid to see him play baseball if they had not wanted him to have the money. On this line of reasoning, it is hard to see how the government is to collect much revenue, but Buckley's detestation of Lord Keynes is so extravagant that he would be glad if the entire social machinery of the state collapsed for lack of funds.

Nevertheless, as the author keeps reminding us, his views are not the point of the book; the point is that he wants the students at Yale to be inoculated, not educated, and that at present he feels the wrong serum is being used. It is surprising (and perhaps a reflection on the university) that a Yale graduate should be unable to distinguish between education and indoctrination; it is depressing that he cannot himself find the fallacy in his argument that, since the Nazis, the Fascists and the Communists came to power in nations whose people did not know the truth, all responsible Yale alumni are in duty bound to enforce the truth at New Haven. It is astonishing, on the assumption that Buckley is well-meaning, that he has not realized that the methods he proposes for his alma mater are precisely those employed in Italy, Germany and Russia. An elite shall establish the truth by ukase and no basic disagreement shall be tolerated.

If it is the fact, as Buckley asserts, that certain departments at Yale have become doctrinaire, the administration should remedy this condition. But the alumni, before organizing the posse for which he calls, should note that the author does not object to a doctrinaire curriculum—that in fact he wants it to be more so. Buckley's definition of truth is what he believes; his notion of freedom is the right to do what he approves. He is, in short, a Savonarola democrat—an odd fish for Yale to spawn. ROBERT HATCH

GROUP RELATIONS

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN, by Carey McWilliams (Little, Brown; revised, $3.50).

IN APRIL, 1943, Carey McWilliams published *Brothers Under the Skin*, which warned of the mounting racist tensions in America. Within four months a "zoot-suit" riot erupted in Los Angeles, followed quickly by bloody street fighting between Negroes and whites in Detroit and a similar clash in Harlem. These events shocked the conscience of America and focused attention on the grievances of the 20 million members of minority groups in

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the United States: Negroes, Latin Americans, Jews, Orientals and American Indians. Since then a revolution in group relations has taken place and greater advances made in the struggle against bigotry than in the entire period since the Civil War.

The virtue of McWilliams' book was that it abandoned futile reliance on "education" as a means of correcting prejudiced attitudes. In the last chapter of his 1943 work, entitled an "Outline for Action," he urged a detailed federal legislative program to protect minority groups. In the eight years since then a large part of this program has been effectuated. As a result of the epochal report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, justice for minority groups has become a major political issue; equally important, race-relations themes have, through best-selling novels and motion-picture hits, reached audiences in the millions. The United States Supreme Court has handed down a series of decisions which outlawed the white primary in the South, forbade courts to enforce restrictive covenants in housing, compelled Southern post-graduate schools to admit Negroes, put an end to segregation in interstate commerce, invalidated union contracts discriminating against Negro employees and declared unlawful statutes aimed at alien Japanese.

Although efforts to enact a federal FEPC, anti-poll-tax or anti-lynching laws were stymied by Southern filibusters in the Senate, civil-rights agencies, by turning to the state legislatures, have, since 1945, obtained the enactment of eight effective fair-employment-practice laws, two fair-educational-practice acts, three laws forbidding discrimination in places of public accommodation and nine laws forbidding discrimination in public and quasi-public housing. Voluntary agencies have likewise participated in this broad advance and Negroes have gained admittance to professional baseball, college fraternities, professional and church associations.

These developments impelled a revision of the 1943 volume. McWilliams' 1951 edition, in addition to acute chapters on each of our minorities and a brilliant summary of events of the last decade, contains a final provocative chapter entitled "Beyond Civil Rights."

If 1943 was a period of racial tensions, it was nevertheless a period in which hopes ran high. In 1951, when McCarthyism is running amok in the United States and the New York *Times* reports a "creeping paralysis of freedom of thought and speech" on college campuses, civil rights may be advancing but civil liberties are in grave jeopardy. McWilliams properly chides group-relations agencies for not recognizing that they cannot achieve security where civil liberties are insecure.

But having made this cogent observation, McWilliams lapses into a form of naïve economic determinism which is strangely out of character for one so perceptive. In his book *Witch Hunt*, published last year, McWilliams charged that President Truman sponsored his civil-rights program for racial minorities because the President discovered that "this program could serve as an effective cover for his failure to protect other civil rights. . . ." The "strategists of American reaction," McWilliams argued, began to yield on racial discrimination in order to step up the pressure against political and economic dissenters. In *Brothers Under the Skin* he returns to this theme and contends that "we" are seeking to strike a bargain with racial minorities: full civil rights will be guaranteed on condition that these minorities do not challenge the economic exploitation at the root of the system.

The difficulty with this devil theory of social change is that it is belied by the facts. The "strategists of reaction" did not cunningly yield gains in civil rights; gains were extracted by various forms of pressure. These "strategists," who presumably control the isolationist wing of the Republican Party and the Southern Democrats, have not yielded to this day on FEPC or poll-tax or anti-lynching laws. Segregation in the Southern schools is being attacked on a dozen fronts but, far from yielding gracefully, Southern Governors in Georgia, South Carolina and Florida are threatening to pull down the public-school system over their heads if they are forced to admit Negroes.

Apart from this facile theory (evident only in his concluding chapter), McWilliams has made a genuine contribution to the field of group relations in which no other American has written with so much learning and discernment. *Brothers Under the Skin* is destined to serve for a long time as the best one-volume treatment of the complex problem of race relations in this country. WILL MASLOW

Will Maslow is director of the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress.

ASSORTED SPLINTERS

THE MAN FROM THE TUNNEL, by Theodora Benson (Appleton-Century-Crofts; $3).

MANY ARE CALLED, by Edward Newhouse (William Sloane Associates; $3.75).

EVER SINCE Chekhov came upon a smashed bottle of green glass in a muddy lane shining in the moonlight, and decided to equate the slivers of glass with human melancholy, short-story writers have hunted after fragments; all conceivable splinters, human and otherwise, have been held up for our admiration; the landscape of the short story resembles nothing so much as a seashore littered with bodies made of broken glass. There are advantages, of course, in the pursuit of the transparent and the fragmentary. There is no need for depth and texture; it is enough if there is a blinding flash, a significant gleam, a sharp twist in the guts. Something has gone wrong. It seems that the short story must deal with derelicts, contain a maximum of violence and end in a whimper. *I will show you fear in a splinter of glass.*

Both Miss Benson and Mr. Newhouse are experts at smashing bottles. Mr. Newhouse has the advantage of stronger muscles and a significant knowledge of Third Avenue bars, and he has a habit of making his whimper sound like a bang. Miss Benson, happier among scent bottles than beer mugs, has suitably attached her whimper to a resonance chamber in which echoes from other authors reinforce her voice. Mr. Newhouse has the gleam in the eye of a very drunk and superbly discerning man who is equally at home in the hobo jungle on the west side of the switch yards in Council Bluffs, Iowa, and in an apartment on Murray Hill. Miss Benson's adaptability is still broader, for she is as much at ease in a fussy Hampstead suburb as in a cheap lodging house in Java. Indeed, her stories about

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Java are far the best things in the book. She tells the story of an English girl who travels to the South Seas to meet her prospective husband, only to discover that he died a few hours before her ship came to port. She remains on the island, alone and friendless, surviving by a series of amatory explorations performed with a casual relish and comforting herself, when she has descended at last to a cheap Chinese hotel, with the possession of a sandalwood elephant bought in Colombo. The story is told honestly and expertly, but there is the inevitable whimper and the inevitable tinkle of broken glass.

Mr. Newhouse is more derivative. There are echoes everywhere: Hemingway and Somerset Maugham spy through the windowscreens, and now and again O. Henry ogles over their shoulder. As a master of the craft of writing short stories for *The New Yorker*, he possesses a quiver of brilliantly assorted splinters. They would hurt more if he aimed them accurately. The three stories of the hobo jungle, culminating in an account of how an old bum, frozen stiff, is thrown off a box car, are completely incredible, perhaps for the same reason that Miss Benson's stories about England are incredible. It is possible that he knows his box cars too well to be able to see them in sharp focus. For the rest, he writes with a casual brilliance, hitting as often as he misses, and no one need ever again tell a story about Jake's place in Third Avenue or about the private miseries of junior officers in the Army Air Force. Then (at the moments when he forgets to be clever) he writes with a superb ear for the overtones of war and the sly accents of drunks.

So here are two brilliant books, with a hard clarity in them, and something has gone deadly wrong. They are both books of short short stories. The shutter snaps too fast; the neon lamps glitter a little too feverishly; we are never allowed to have more than a glimpse of the characters. If only they would give themselves a little more elbow-room, a little more texture and a little more depth. Away with splinters of glass! ROBERT PAYNE

MOVIES: No Place for Tragedy

A MAN wearing an opera cloak and sneakers makes a striking appearance, but he is a nuisance because you don't know quite what to expect of him: it is something the same with Sidney Kingsley's *Detective Story*. This play, now brought to the screen by William Wyler, is written at two such disparate levels that, however clear the direction, however explicit the acting, it is impossible to accept both elements at once.

The core of the play is a bitter, almost morbid, story of a man so twisted by circumstance that he has made himself into a tearing lash of righteousness. The characters in this story are the detective (Kirk Douglas), his wife (Eleanor Parker), an abortionist (George MacReady), a boy and girl in love (Craig Hill and Cathy O'Donnell) and one or two subsidiary figures introduced for reasons of plot. These people are engaged in the sort of work that, critical comparisons aside, might occupy them in a play by Chekhov or Ibsen or O'Neill. They carry it out, though, in the middle of a knockabout farce-melodrama peopled by a half-dozen funny-tough cops led by William Bendix, a funny-nutty shoplifter (Lee Grant), a pair of deadly-crazy burglars (Joseph Wiseman and Michael Strong) and assorted atmospheric extras. This is the theatre of Hecht and MacArthur's *Front Page*, cleverly detailed, preposterous, full of laughs and bang-bang action. As romantic entertainment it is first-rate, but as a setting for tragedy it is superficial and noisy. Only drunks attempt Aeschylus in a barroom.

It has been a long time since a full-dress, top-drawer tear-jerker appeared in the movie market and *The Blue Veil* will therefore be welcome to those who find themselves improved and comforted by a bout of unrestrained sobbing. There is nothing second-rate about this Wald and Krasna corn: Norman Corwin wrote the professional, admirably sudsy script and the cast includes such seasoned emotion-wringers as Jane Wyman, Charles Laughton, Joan Blondell, Agnes Moorehead, Audrey Totter, Cyril Cusack and Everett Sloane. It is the dolorous history of a woman (Miss Wyman ages handsomely from 30 to 70) who, having lost her own child at birth, becomes a governess and invests her maternal emotions in a succession of tots. Once you accept the philosophy that dampness is all, *The Blue Veil* flows smoothly from heart-breaking prologue to a conclusion bathed in rosy sentiment. The virtue of the picture is that it has no pretensions beyond its formula and does not apologize for what it is. Tear-jerkers that turn arch or seek to enlist serious feelings are as detestable as Westerns that pretend to social significance or to kid the sheriff's posse. *The Blue Veil* is good, clean misery.

The History of Mr. Polly, the famous novel by H. G. Wells, now turns up on the screen with John Mills in the title role, Finlay Currie playing an extravagantly slapstick bogeyman and

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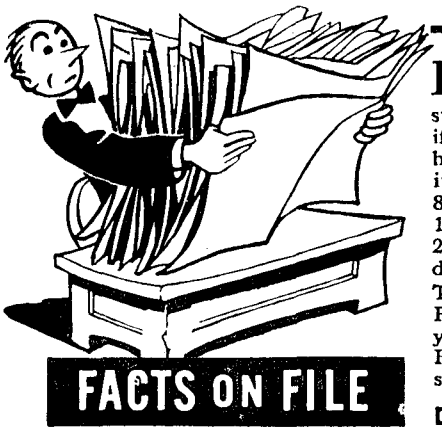

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Diana Churchill and others in stock British character parts. The moral of the tale is that, however trapped by life, a man can still save himself by quick thinking and the advantages of luck and humor; it is good, standard English whimsey. The film is restrained almost to the point of being dim and it embroiders material that is not as fresh today as it may once have been, but the mood is sustained, the taste is unimpeachable, the acting is deft and easy. You come from it feeling that you have spent an evening with warm, if not especially stimulating, friends.

Two other current English pictures deserve passing mention, more because they represent styles at which the British excel. *The Clouded Yellow*, with Jean Simmons and Trevor Howard, is that famous chase by land and sea, with every resource of Empire straining to catch the fugitive lovers who are themselves on the track of murder most foul. This pair covers a large part of England (pleasant views of London, Newcastle-on-Tyne, the Lake Country and Liverpool) and it displays an ingenious trick or two. But the plot is transparent, with dangers more cinematic than real. Made at Hitchcock Manor, but the master was not in residence.

Laughter in Paradise falls still further below its genre—the cold-faced farce or imperturbable slapstick school. The cast includes Alastair Sim and Joyce Grenfell, who can be funny with almost no material at all—which is what is here provided them. The trouble is that Miss Grenfell and Mr. Sim fall back on stock mannerisms and desperate mugging.

ROBERT HATCH

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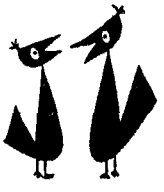

MUSIC

The Modish Metropolitan

THE Metropolitan Opera opened its sixty-seventh season on November 13 with a new staging of Verdi's *Aïda* that was a model of how not to produce an opera. With Margaret Webster serving as stage director and Rolf Gerard as scenic and costume designer, the production had great chic but almost no dramatic genuineness or real style. It was as glossy as a Cole Porter musical and as imposingly meaningless as the Easter show at Radio City.

Miss Webster directed the opera as a series of pictures, of tableaux, artificial gesturings, and formal crossings, turns and floor patterns. Apparently she decided that the modish way to stage an opera is to capitalize upon the very bromides operatic directors the world over spend their lives trying to eliminate—the freezing in place in order to sing, the delivering of dialogue directly to the conductor, the accompanying of musical accents with Delsartian gestures. At any rate, she robbed the action of nearly all its spontaneity and communicativeness and much of its sense, turning a passionate tragedy of love and jealousy into a ponderous, empty charade. She had so little compunction about instructing the singers to disregard the people they were addressing that I seriously wondered how carefully she had read the libretto. If the opera had been given in English, the audience would have laughed aloud when the high priest Ramfis, who had been standing right next to the King of Egypt, carefully descended six or eight steps, turned his back on the monarch, and pleaded with Fausto Cleva, the conductor, not to accede to Radames' request that the Ethiopian prisoners be freed.

Verdi would not thank Miss Webster for devising, as a tribute on the fiftieth anniversary of his death, a staging of *Aïda* that renders unbelievable its vigorous and honest emotions. The exchange of letters between Verdi and his librettist, Ghislanzoni, reveals the composer's insistence that the libretto ring true and the action come clear. The spectacle with which the opera is invested is merely an elaborate adornment, intended to make the work a fitting celebration for the opening of the Suez Canal. The heart of the opera is its human drama, which is simple, sincere and compelling; and it is hard to understand how a stage director could go to great lengths to dry it out and present it as no more than an artificial excuse for the singers to wear expensive costumes and sing high notes.

Gerard's setting for the opening scene was impressively severe, and the triumphal scene, if unfunctional and not very grand, was well conceived in its formal relationships. The unorthodox arrangement of the temple scene, with a large statue of the god Phtha downstage center with its back to audience, was a good idea, since the celebrants did not have to stand with *their* backs to the audience; but the scene lacked atmosphere because Zachary Solov's ballet failed to convey any air of devotion. The Nile scene was a handsome piece of representation, showing a levee, the huge sails of a ship, and what looked like a big warehouse; but the obviously urban character of the locale did not fit the opening music, which is a tone poem about the river at night, with the chirping of crickets. The judgment scene, consisting largely of a high platform and a long flight of steps, was a rather tiresome recapitulation of German abstract design of the 1920s. Attractive as some of the individual scenes were, the settings as a whole had no unifying style, and their charms were largely superficial. One had only to see Eugene Berman's

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new settings for *Rigoletto* two nights later to understand the difference between art and mere decoration.

On the musical side the piece fared better, largely because Cleva gave the most dynamic, brilliantly executed, and best-conceived interpretation of a Verdi opera we have heard in years. It was a more satisfying performance, fuller of lyricism and drama, than Toscanini's celebrated broadcast a couple of years ago. The singing cast, which included Zinka Milanov, in frayed vocal condition, in the title role and Mario del Monaco, a yelling Italian tenor with a fine, clear voice, as Radames, was not first-class—except for the Canadian bass-baritone George London, whose debut as Amonasro acquainted us with one of the most exciting operatic talents, both vocally and theatrically, of the upcoming generation. London's arresting performance was a triumph over the Webster-Gerard conceit of dressing him in a conspicuously kingly robe when the whole point is that nobody except his daughter Aïda knows that he is the king of the vanquished Ethiopians.

The irresistible temptation to record in detail the effronteries of a glib Broadway approach to operatic staging has left little space to sing the praises of the superb re-creation of *Rigoletto* by Berman and the stage director Herbert Graf. I have some quibbles about the fourth act, but the first three—restored to the period of Francis I, from which the censors forced Verdi to remove it—are closer to perfection than anything else I have seen at the Metropolitan. After *Aïda*, it was a joy to watch a performance in which every incident was clear and reasonable; every detail played an efficacious part in the whole.

Leonard Warren, as Rigoletto, gave his most moving portrayal of the jester's role; this is one of the towering operatic characterizations of our time. An attractive and capable Viennese lyric soprano, Hilde Gueden, made her American debut as Gilda, and Richard Tucker sang the Duke's music with a sonorous tenor. This was a true revival of an opera that had become shopworn from careless treatment.

CECIL SMITH

McCARTHY IN WISCONSIN

(Continued from page 16)

a pro-Eisenhower candidate for delegate to the 1952 GOP national convention, in opposition to the Taft slate.

There are powerful reasons why Kohler may decide instead to run for governor again, however. First of all, even the Democrats concede privately that he appears to be virtually unbeatable in any bid for re-election. Second, there is a sentimental reason: his late father, Walter J. Kohler Sr., was denied a second term after serving as governor in 1929-31, although many Wisconsin citizens still regard him as one of the best executives in the state's history. Third, although Kohler was able to get a considerable portion of what he asked for from an often reluctant 1951 legislature, his state program is far from being completed. Fourth, if Kohler wants to be a United States Senator, there seems no surer way for him than to continue to make a good record as Governor with the idea of running for Alexander Wiley's seat in 1956.

More important than any of these reasons, however, is the fact that Kohler would be reluctant to split his party wide open with a bitter primary fight in a crucial Presidential election year. He knows as well as the next man that such a fight might benefit the Democrats, who have been cutting down the winning margins of Republican candidates for top state offices in the last two elections. He knows that the Republican organization, which stands ready to support him in any bid for re-election, will almost certainly be lined up solidly against him in any primary fight against McCarthy. He knows, too, that McCarthy might beat him and bring his promising political career to an abrupt halt.

Organization Republicans will surely bring enormous pressure on Kohler to stay out of the Senatorial race and run for re-election as governor. That pressure, in fact, has already begun. The official Republican line was voiced last month at a meeting of the executive committee of the Wisconsin Federation of Young Republicans. First, the committee commended Kohler for his "outstanding record as governor," and urged him to seek a second term. Then it passed another resolution which said: "The Wisconsin Federation of Young Republican clubs hereby congratulates and commends Senator McCarthy for his outstanding service to the American people. We love him for the enemies he has made." Kohler, no doubt, got the point.

Still, Kohler knows that the man who brings down Joe McCarthy will become a national political figure overnight. He knows that if he were to beat McCarthy next September and go on to win in November, he would go to Washington with a prestige rare for a freshman Senator. Meanwhile, the confusion started by his late September statements spreads. Whether Kohler's behavior is directly responsible or not, the Wisconsin Democrats, who had genuine hopes of defeating McCarthy, now appear to be heading for a bitter Senatorial primary fight. Henry S. Reuss, Milwaukee attorney and unsuccessful Democratic candidate for state Attorney General last year, has announced his intention to run for Senator. Democratic leaders in Madison and elsewhere had hoped to persuade Reuss to run for another office and to unite the party behind State Sen. Gaylord Nelson, minority leader in the Wisconsin legislature's upper house, as the candidate for Senator.

Lately, there has been talk among Democrats and political independents that Thomas Fairchild, now the US Attorney for Western Wisconsin, would be the strongest candidate against McCarthy if Kohler does not run. Fairchild in 1948 gave the Democrats their only victory for statewide office since 1934, winning election as Attorney General by 60,000 votes. He lost to Senator Wiley by 80,000 in 1950. Even Kohler is said to have remarked that Fairchild would have a good chance against McCarthy in the general election.

When Joe McCarthy was first told by reporters that Kohler had indicated an interest in running against him, he said, "That's interesting." The Senator could revise and extend his remark to cover the entire Wisconsin political scene from now until the ballots are counted in November, 1952.

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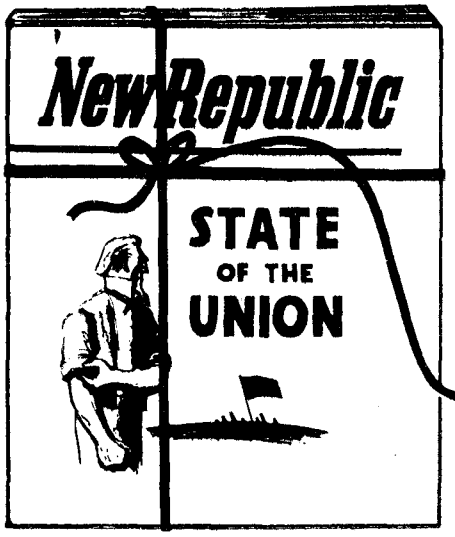

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